

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. -- James Monroe

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Congress Discusses Foreign Trade Pacts

Debates Whether to Extend for Three Years Authority to Make Agreements

EFFECT OF POLICY WEIGHED

Contentions of Hull Supporters Questioned by Opponents of Present Trade Program

Probably the hardest-fought battle in the present session of Congress will be waged over Secretary of State Hull's foreign trade program. For six years, the State Department has been making trade agreements with foreign nations. They are called *reciprocal* trade agreements. They are given that name because they are give-and-take affairs. Our government promises to reduce the tariff rates on certain kinds of goods coming from a foreign nation and thus make it easier for the people of that country to sell these goods to us. In return, the foreign government reduces the tariff on certain articles produced in the United States—articles which we are anxious to sell abroad. The two countries signing the agreement *reciprocate*. Each gives something in return for favors from the other.

Trade Agreements Program

In 1934, Congress gave the President power to negotiate agreements of this kind and to put them into effect. The President, in carrying out this program, acts through the State Department; so, in effect, it is the secretary of state and his subordinates who carry on the negotiations and make the agreements. Once the agreements are drawn up, they become effective without any action by Congress. Congress thus turns over to the President (acting through the State Department) the right to enact this form of tariff legislation.

Congress gave the power for only a limited time, however. It said that the President might negotiate such pacts for a period of three years. During that time Congress could see how well the work was done—whether the President formed agreements which Congress approved and which were in the public interest. The President's power to make these agreements expired in 1937, but it was renewed for another three years. The second period comes to an end next June 30, and the debate in Congress now is whether it should be renewed for still another three-year period of time.

A bill extending the power of the President to carry on with this program has been introduced in the House of Representatives and referred to the Ways and Means Committee. This committee is conducting public hearings.

If one listens to the testimony and to all the arguments which are being advanced, he can see that two big questions stand out prominently: (a) Have the President and the State Department been wise in the exercise of their power? They have made trade agreements with 22 nations, including England, Canada, France, and other countries with which a great part of our trade is carried on. Have these agreements been helpful to the American people, or injurious? (b) Is it a good thing to give the President—the executive branch of the government—power to change our tariff laws in this way without a vote by Congress? Would it be better if, when each agreement is drawn up, it should be voted

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IN THE POLITICAL SUBMARINE ZONE

FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

European Federation Is Widely Proposed

Allies Urged to Name European Union as Principal Objective of Present War

MANY OBSTACLES ARE NOTED

But Hope Prevails That Lasting Peace May Be Established on Basis of Federation

More and more, thoughtful men and women in various countries of Europe are turning their attention to the kind of peace that is to be established at the conclusion of the present war. The realization is deep-seated that Europe and the world cannot go through a general war every 20 years or so without shaking the very foundations of civilization. And a large number of those who are thinking about lasting peace for Europe sincerely feel that wars will be inevitable so long as the continent of Europe is divided into more than two dozen independent nations, each with its individual interests and policies which conflict with those of other powers.

A Federated Europe?

It is in order to remove these basic causes of war—rivalries for power and territory, for markets, for national prestige—that various proposals have been made for the establishment of a new political and economic order in Europe at the end of the war. In Great Britain and France, and to a lesser degree in other countries, the suggestion is made that the European nations form themselves into a federation. As yet, the movement has not solidified. It has not yet drawn up detailed blueprints for a new political and economic order in Europe. But the idea that Europe must federate, must unite into a larger political state, has made great headway since the outbreak of war, and with the passing of each week, the idea represents the hopes and aspirations of more and more people throughout the continent.

The idea of a federated Europe is not new. More than a century and a half before the drafting of the American Constitution, King Henry IV of France conceived his Grand Design of a federal union for Europe. Henry's plan called for the relinquishment of national sovereignty on the part of the individual states and the formation of a large European nation. There was to be one standing army and one navy. Freedom of trade was to prevail among the members of the federation. There was to be a legislative body, composed of four delegates from each of the larger states and two delegates from each of the smaller states, whose decisions were to constitute "final and irrevocable decrees."

Throughout the centuries since Henry's time, men in all countries have dreamed of the day when national boundaries would be wiped out in Europe and peace would be guaranteed by means of federation. The establishment of the United States of America provided a living example of the federal idea in practice. During the early postwar period, various schemes were advanced for the establishment of a United States of Europe. A Pan-European Union was set up, with headquarters in Vienna and branches in nearly all European countries. The founder of this organization, Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, proposed a federal state modeled like the United States of America, with freedom of trade among

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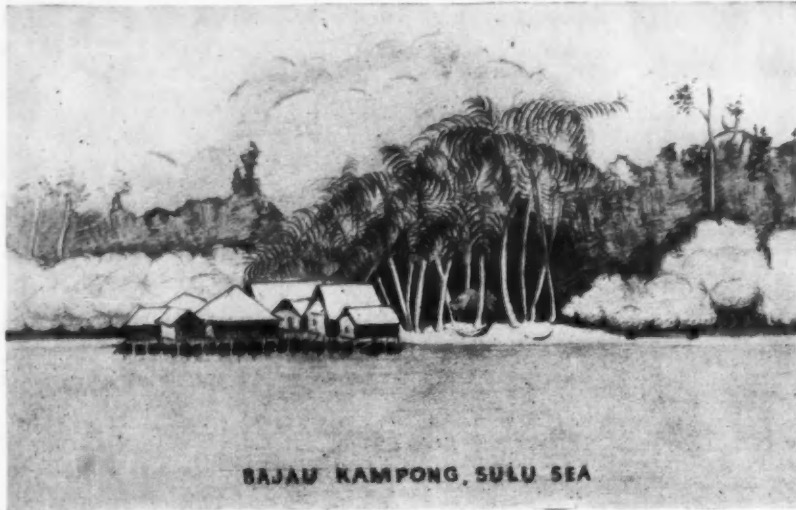
Where Youth Can Lead

By WALTER E. MYER

In a book called "You Americans" which was published recently, fifteen correspondents of foreign newspapers tell what they think of the United States and of the American people. I read with much interest the chapter written by a Swedish correspondent, Naboth Hedin, entitled "Education and Politics in the United States." This Swedish writer is much impressed by the fact that we in America are undertaking to maintain a democratic government without giving much thought to the training of citizens to meet the responsibilities which democratic government imposes upon them. He quotes an American economist who says, "Sweden has learned a great deal of which we in the United States seem to be still ignorant, namely, that for any movement to succeed, education must come first and legislation afterwards. . . . After all is said and done, education per capita is far more important than wealth per capita in judging the safety of foreign investments. The Scandinavians are today probably the most highly educated people in the world."

Mr. Hedin then describes the plan of civic or political education which is followed very extensively in Sweden. Thousands of the people of that country have formed themselves into circles or groups for the purpose of studying and discussing problems with which they are most concerned. "What is a study circle?" asks this correspondent, and he gives the answer: "It is a small group of people of almost any age or occupation who agree to study together for a season either a certain subject or a certain author, and then meet regularly for the exchange of information, ideas, comment, opinion, etc., related to that subject or writer." There are about twelve thousand such circles or groups in Sweden. If we in the United States had as many study circles in proportion to population as Sweden has, there would be 238,000 of them, for our population is twenty times that of Sweden. If as large a proportion of Americans attended these study circles as attend the Swedish meetings, there would be nearly 3,000,000 participants in this country. These figures show the extent to which the study or discussion group idea has taken hold in Sweden.

By such action the Swedish people have gained information about the problems which concern them. They have exchanged ideas until they have developed sound public opinion. By this interchange of fact and opinion they have developed leadership and have forged to the front among the democratic peoples of the world. The young people in the schools of America are in a position to assume a like leadership in the United States. That is why THE AMERICAN OBSERVER has urged and still urges students to form themselves into clubs for the purpose of reading and discussion—for the purpose of exchanging ideas, developing leadership, and of learning through practice how to strengthen American democracy.



BAJAU KAMPONG, SULU SEA

(Drawings by Agnes Newton Keith for "Land Below the Wind.")

- Straight Thinking -

XX. Cause and Effect

WHEN anything of importance happens, we naturally want to know what caused it to happen. Yet frequently it is very hard to discover the cause. The thing that happened may be the result not of one act but of many, and it may be almost impossible to figure out the exact chain of consequences flowing from any act. People very frequently get mixed up with problems of this kind. It is one of the most common forms of error.

In March 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt became president and used his influence to get a number of laws enacted. A little later, business throughout the country became better. The nation arose out of the depths of depression and started on a slow and uneven upward movement. Many people said immediately that the recovery, or such recovery as we had, was a result of the President's acts. The New Deal measures had caused the recovery.

Then late in 1937 while the same Franklin D. Roosevelt was president, there came a very serious break in business. The country tumbled again on the road to depression. And many people said that the break was caused by the President and his New Deal measures.

It is possible, of course, that the people who made these statements were right both times. It is possible that there was an upward movement as a result of what President Roosevelt did in 1933 and that there was a downward movement as a result of what he did afterward. But, in the absence of proof, we cannot be sure that either statement was correct. Because certain laws were put on the statute books in 1933 and there was a measure of recovery in 1934, it does not follow necessarily that the things which happened in 1934 were caused by anything that happened in 1933. The recovery that took place late in 1933 and during 1934 may conceivably have resulted from other causes. It may be argued that the depression had simply run its course and that the time had come for an upward movement. Similarly, it is not to be assumed with that argument that the recession which came in 1938 was caused

by any particular act of the Roosevelt administration in 1934, '35, '36, or '37. It is possible that the recovery period had run its course and that we were due for recession whatever the President had done.

Here is another case. Trade agreements have been made with a number of nations under the leadership of Secretary of State Cordell Hull. After the pacts were made, our trade with these countries increased, and friends of the agreements are likely to point to the fact and declare that it proves the value of the policy. It proves that the agreements caused trade to increase. Perhaps they did, but, in the absence of proof, we cannot be sure of it. The increase in trade may have come from other causes, such as a general rise in prosperity throughout the world. It may be that the particular nations with which the agreements had been made were the ones whose business had improved most and whose trade would have increased, agreement or no agreement.

The point we are getting at is this: We cannot assume that if two things happen at the same time one is necessarily the cause of the other, or that if one happens after the other, the thing that happened latest is the result of the other. We can see how true this is when we think of various simple cases. You may be very fond of apples and may eat many of them, and perhaps you are very healthy. Then you may repeat the old saying, "An apple a day keeps the doctor away." You may say that you have proved it. But how do you know that you would not have been healthy if you had eaten fewer apples? It was reported in the papers the other day that an old man celebrated his hundredth birthday, and when asked how he had maintained his health and lived so long, he replied that it was because he had chewed tobacco freely all his life. He had chewed tobacco and he did live to the age of a hundred, but it is very unlikely that there was any relation between the two facts. As a matter of fact, many factors influence movements of trade. Usually, when we assume that some one act or law has been wholly responsible, we are ignoring factors which also played a part. One can determine the facts only after painstaking study and thought. One must be careful never to jump to conclusions.

These are but a few of the hundreds of illustrations you can see all about you as you listen to conversation and read the newspapers. You will find it an interesting practice to pick out cases of the sort—cases in which people assume that when two things have happened together, one has been the cause and the other the effect, or that this is true when one act follows another. If you want to be certain, you must engage in much study and thought to determine whether the thing which looks on the surface to be the cause of something else really is the cause or whether other factors must be taken into account.

Informal Glimpses of Borneo Are Seen in "Land Below the Wind"

WHAT is life in Borneo like? And what, after all, is Borneo? The ideas of most people concerning that distant island appear to be very vague. At the Chicago World's Fair, half a century ago, much was said about the "wild man from Borneo." And since that time the "wild man" idea has been frequently repeated, and perhaps most people have a wild-man notion when they hear of Borneo.

A more accurate picture is to be found in a book called, "Land Below the Wind," by Agnes Newton Keith (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$3), which was published recently and which quickly became a best seller. The author of this book, an American girl married to a British official in North Borneo, tells the story of her life on the island.

"The climate of North Borneo is warm," we are told, "as day in and day out the temperature averages about 88°, and the humidity is very high. It is not a distressing climate, but it makes one too content to sit and do nothing. If you go to bed tired at night you wake up so in the morning. There is never anything in the air to make you breathe deeply and throw out your chest and say briskly, 'How invigorating!' One may say, 'How delicious, how fragrant . . . but one sits down and relaxes even while saying it.'"

The natives of Borneo, small, brown-skinned people, engage in farming if they live along the coastal plains, and hunt if they live up in the mountains. On the whole they are a friendly lot, and one does not meet in the pages of this book anyone who fits the "wild-man" picture.

A large part of Borneo is undeveloped forest land, and one gains the impression of jungles, of almost incessant rain, of slimy mud, of swamps inhabited by crocodiles, of a generous supply of tropical animals. There are elephants in Borneo and one must be on the lookout for them when he makes his camp in the jungle territory. But Mrs. Keith tells us that the sand flies and other insects are worse than either crocodiles or elephants.

The Keiths had their headquarters in Sandakan, capital of North Borneo, a village of 14,000 population. Only 75 of these were Europeans. The Chinese numbered 10,000, and the rest were natives

of Borneo and neighboring islands. The place was inhabited not only by a human population, but by many animals which frequented the premises of the Keiths, and were petted and befriended. Among them were apes, orangutans, otters, a variety of pigs, a peculiar kind of rat, cats, and an animal which the author calls the "missing link." The Keiths also took into their household and tried to train the little boy whose picture is to be found on this page. He did not develop into a good workman, however, and when they sent him away to school he took on some of the less desirable features of western civilization. He worked until he got a few pennies, then would run away to the movies, to downtown resorts, and would not make an appearance at home until late at night.

One of the most interesting stories in the book is that of a native of Borneo who



had never been outside of the island but who was brought to New York with the Martin Johnsons to take care of their animal collection. His impressions of New York are quite amusing. He speaks of it as a "very great village with a thousand thousand lights." He was impressed by the trains running on "bridges" (the elevated lines). He was afraid to get on a street car or elevated lest he would not be able to get off. He was very much interested in the little room that he got into and which then suddenly went up very rapidly (an elevator). He was called upon at one time to make a talk before a club and was quite flattered because the audience liked what he said so much, even though they could not understand it, that they "struck their hands together to show that they were pleased."

What the Magazines Say

REASONS and solutions for the present state of chaos in the affairs of the world have been offered by many types of experts—statesmen, economists, political scientists, historians, and militarists. This month in *Harper's* magazine a new type of expert gives his solution. Mr. Earl P. Hanson is a noted geographer, a man who has explored in tropic and Arctic climates. His experiments in these regions are well known. His article, "Geography Goes Fluid" should open new approaches to several old problems. He believes that the basic cause of the European conflict and similar conflicts in other parts of the world can be traced to population pressure in some form or another. In contrast to this

on other evidence and reasoning that the world's present deadlock over issues of fundamental political and economic dogmas will release a vast flood of pent-up energies, will send men out by the thousands to conquer and 'civilize' the far corners of the world, to do for the world what our westward expansion did for us . . . geographers are doing everything in their power to pave the way for a new renaissance of unpredictable scope and significance.

When the European war first broke out all the experts began to produce charts, tables, and complicated formulas to show that it was impossible economically for Germany to win. The Allied blockade still holds and the real test of Germany's ability to hold out against economic pressure has not come. There are, however, some writers who are beginning to question the former conclusion that the Allies are sure to win. One of these men, John C. deWilde, has written an article in the February issue of *Common Sense*. The title, "Germany May Win," sets the theme for the piece. Mr. deWilde points out that first analysts overlooked the fact that Germany was so geared to a war economy before the war started that she had a considerable start on the French and English in adjusting to rigid restrictions. Stocks of reserve supplies accumulated over a long period of time, careful reservations of man power for industries, government control over production, foreign trade and distribution—gave them a distinct advantage. The peculiar course of the war has also made a difference, he argues. Unlike the last war, heavy fighting has been rare. After the lightning campaign against Poland, the Germans settled down to a defensive war with offensives directed only against merchant vessels and British warships. Considering the fact that Germany in the last World War held out for four years while waging an offensive war all over Europe, this writer believes that the time she can hold out with her present strategy, which uses very few men or materials, is almost indefinite.



background of population pressure, which he says exists in all the world's great nations except Russia, Mr. Hanson points to the "relative emptiness of the tropics." These lands, he says, include something like one-third of the world's land areas and are populated by only 550 million human beings, most of whom are colored. In spite of the population pressure in many civilized countries, other vast stretches with fertility, beauty, healthfulness, lie uninhabited in South America and Africa. Mr. Hanson believes that this fact is due mainly to the acceptance of the old adage that white men cannot stand a hardworking life in the tropics. Speaking as a representative of the more progressive geographers of this day, Mr. Hanson debunks this theory by citing successful experiments conducted in Australia and other tropical zones. To conclude, he says: "It has often been predicted,

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European Union Widely Debated

(Concluded from page 1, column 4)

all the members and with legislative authority residing in two bodies, a House of Peoples and a House of States. The late French statesman, Aristide Briand, in the late twenties and early thirties, actually took steps toward forming a United States of Europe, but his plans were cut short by the growing intensity of the world-wide economic depression.

However great may have been the failures of the past, the idea that permanent peace lay only in federal union has persisted throughout the years, and has received a greater impetus by the present wars into which the continent has been plunged. Many have gone so far as to suggest that the Allies should list federation of Europe as their principal war aim, thus uniting the support of all those who believe that a new day of lasting peace can come to Europe only in this way.

Present Confusion

The centuries-old political arrangements that have existed in Europe have hardly contributed to peace and stability. If we do not count Russia, which is partly in Europe and partly in Asia and which is not, therefore, a strictly European nation, Europe is approximately half the size of the United States, and yet it is divided into about half as many independent nations as there are states in the United States. The European situation is much as it would be in the United States if each of our states were independent; if there were tariff walls about each; if the people of each state hated or feared those of neighboring states; if they were arming heavily to fight their neighbors; if each were trying to make itself secure against all the rest; and if the government of each state were trying to bring business to its own people and to secure their prosperity regardless of what happened to the people of adjoining states.

As a matter of fact, the situation which prevails in Europe is not unlike that which characterized this country during the period before the adoption of the Constitution. Under the Articles of Confederation, the states were hopelessly divided, despite their common objectives. They issued their own currency and levied tariffs against one another. Territorial disputes among them were frequent and bitter. Each was jealous of its authority and sovereignty and none was willing or anxious to surrender any of its power to a central government. Yet a formula was worked out and accepted which ensured the permanence of the Union and which has become a model the world over.

Those who see in federation the only hope for the future of Europe contend that the difficulties standing in the way are no more insuperable today than they were 150 years ago when the American states surrendered part of their sovereignty and embarked upon their experiment in federation. They believe that nothing short of the surrender of part of the nation's in-



ITALIANS



RUMANIANS

GENDREAU, DE COU FROM GALLOWAY, MARCH OF TIME
EUROPEANS

Italians, Rumanians, Dutch, Germans, French—to name only a few—Europeans vary widely in nationality, language, and temperament. Would it be possible for them to unite under some form of federation?

dependence and sovereignty will accomplish the desired results. The League of Nations, praiseworthy as its objectives were, failed because it had no authority to act to maintain peace. It was a confederation, or league, of totally independent nations which relinquished none of their sovereignty. A federation, on the other hand, would have authority because it would itself be a state—a superstate, perhaps, but nevertheless a sovereign state with armies at its command and with the power to levy taxes to carry out its functions.

Many Europeans see, in the close bonds which have been established between England and France since the outbreak of the war, the beginnings of a wider federation after the war. The two countries act, in many respects, as a single nation. They have pooled their war purchases, linked their currencies, placed their armed forces under a single command, and in other ways tightened the political and economic ties which unite them. Both Prime Minister Chamberlain and Premier Daladier have expressed the hope that this collaboration between the two nations will outlast the present war. Hope has been expressed that this union might form the nucleus for a wider and deeper union of other European powers.

Many Obstacles

However genuine may be the enthusiasm on the part of the peoples of Europe to solve their problems by means of federation, there is a widespread realization that tremendous difficulties stand in the way. Skepticism prevails as to the feasibility of any plan to draw the conflicting nations and racial groups into a new political and economic unity. The mere idea of nations which have existed for centuries surrendering part of their sovereignty creates serious doubts. Certain of these difficulties are commented upon by C. Hartley Grattan, in the current issue of *Harpers*:

Federalism requires that the states entering the system give up a large part of their sovereign rights. They become definitely subordinate to a superior power, the federal government. It will boss them. Conspicuous among the powers which will be taken away will be the right to maintain armies and to lay down protective tariffs, the objectives being the abolition of war among the states and the abolition of economic warfare. These are desirable ends. But plainly we have here the beginnings of a furious controversy, in legalistic terms, a controversy over the distribution of powers as between the member states and the central authority. This controversy is chronic in every federal system of which we have knowledge; today it is at a crisis stage in most of them. How countries with long-established traditions of independence are going to be persuaded to give up the indispensable powers to a central authority is not clear at all.

Mr. Grattan raises another difficulty which those interested in federalism must face if their plans are to be carried out. He believes that there can be no successful federation if some of the members are democracies and others dictatorships. It seems hardly likely that Mussolini or Franco or any of those rulers who have undisputed power in their own countries would surrender their authority and consent to be ruled by a superstate, especially by a superstate in which the democracies would exert a powerful influence. Mr. Grattan asks how you can hope to form

a federation of democratic, fascist, and communist states and how uniformity is to be established. These are admittedly very difficult questions for anyone to answer.

Many of those who are genuinely interested in establishing a lasting peace in Europe feel that the proposed schemes for general federation are too ambitious and that the objective should be striven for by gradual processes. They freely admit that the division of the continent into two dozen independent nations and the network of tariff barriers and other restrictions to trade are not conducive to peace and prosperity. Nevertheless, they are of the opinion that to tear down the entire structure with one fell swoop and attempt to build a new political and economic edifice would create problems of such magnitude and cause such serious economic dislocations as to defeat the main purpose.

Regional Groupings

In the opinion of these people, the safer and more logical course would be to create a number of regional federations as a preliminary step to general political and economic union. There could be a Danubian federation, long seen as a necessity, to include all the countries in the Balkan region. A similar union could be formed among the Scandinavian countries, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland—if it survives—among which there is already a large degree of cooperation. The present Anglo-French collaboration could be continued and extended into a third federation. Another grouping might be made in central Europe, consisting of the Germanic nations. If these regional federations could be established, customs barriers among the members removed, and political unity created, it is argued, it would be easier to form the larger federation than to attempt the broader program all at once.

The movement for European federation, whether on a continental or a regional basis, is predicated upon the assumption that the Allies will win the war. If they should be defeated, entirely new conditions would be created. Germany, too, has her plans for a broader European unity. A German victory would undoubtedly result in the creation of the age-old dream of a vast German empire in central and eastern Europe. Even before the outbreak of the present war in Europe, the principal purpose of German foreign policy was to bring neighboring states under the political domination of the Reich and to strengthen the economic ties between Germany and her neighbors.

It is impossible to predict the outcome of the many forces which are now working for European federation and unity at the conclusion of the war. There can be no doubt that the vision has struck a popular chord throughout the world. People everywhere realize the dangers to civilization of the recurrent wars and crises of the last few years and yearn for the day when these tragedies will be removed. It is significant that "Union Now," a book by Clarence K. Streit (see page 6), in which federation of the democracies of Europe and of the North Atlantic region, including the United States, has become one of the most widely discussed books, not only in this country but in Europe as well. Similar interest and



DUTCH



GERMANS

enthusiasm have been aroused over all the proposals which offer hope, however small, of a new political and economic order in Europe.

The kind of peace that is established in Europe will depend largely upon the nature and the duration of the present war. If the war is prolonged month after month and year after year; if it increases in ferocity and resembles in horror and destruction the World War, the psychological atmosphere for a new and constructive era may be destroyed. The victors are likely to attempt to impose a harsh and ruthless peace upon the vanquished. It would be the old story of attempting to keep the defeated foe in a state of weakness and subjection. Meanwhile, people the world over are pondering over the kind of world they want to create when the war is over.

Questions and References

1. The idea of establishing a federated Europe has only recently been advanced. True or false?
2. Compare the political and economic conditions which exist in Europe today with those which existed in this country under the Articles of Confederation.
3. What are the principal obstacles standing in the way of federation?
4. Why might it be easier to establish federation on a regional rather than a continental basis?
5. What effect will the nature and the duration of the war have upon the peace terms?

REFERENCES: (a) If America Were Like Europe, by S. Chase and M. Tyler. *National Education Association Journal*, December 1939, pp. 269-270. (b) The Struggle for Peace, by C. H. Grattan. *Harpers*, February 1940, pp. 297-304. (c) Federation for Europe, by H. N. Brailsford. *The New Republic*, December 13, 1939, p. 227. (d) Federated Europe? *Christian Century*, December 6, 1939, pp. 1494-1496.



FRENCH

(From "Camera Around the World," McBride.)



ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Heavy snows and severe cold visited a number of cities in the South during the unusual wave of frigid weather. Street car and bus services were disrupted, schools were closed, and there was suffering in homes not designed for severe weather.

WIDE WORLD

DOMESTIC

Dies Committee

Sharp words were exchanged in the House of Representatives when the Dies Committee was given another \$75,000 with which to continue its investigation of un-American activities. Even some of the 345 members who voted for the committee (only 21 opposed), criticized the group's methods. They charged it with being unfair—"un-American" itself—in its methods. Chairman Martin Dies was scored for "cashing in" by writing magazine articles and making speeches about the committee's activities. Although the committee had a number of defenders, it was the general feeling that it should attempt to be fairer and more judicious in its future hearings.

Now that the committee is assured another extension of life, there is some speculation about its next inquiries. It is being pressed, for example, to investigate the extent of an organization which is called the Christian Front. In a number of speeches over the radio, and in editorials for his magazine, *Social Justice*, Rev. Charles E. Coughlin has urged his followers to form a Christian Front movement for the purpose of combating un-American and anti-Christian forces. Many people are now charging him with having influenced and inspired the 17 men who were arrested recently in New York for plotting to overthrow the government. They had planned to seize strategic industries, wreck power plants, and kill high officials.

These men said that they belonged to the Christian Front. The well-known Catholic magazine, *The Commonweal*, contended that Father Coughlin's inflammatory speeches had been partly responsible for the actions of the accused men. And the *New York Times* pointed out that several issues of *Social Justice* have, during recent months, referred in a friendly way to John F. Cassidy, one of the arrested men.

Although Father Coughlin at first denied any connection with this particular branch of the Christian Front, he later minimized the seriousness of the plot, inferred that the men were falsely accused, and charged that worse things are going on in the United States. When Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund, testified before the Dies Committee, he stated that issues of *Social Justice*, along with copies of Hitler's "Mein Kampf," are placed in all Bund camps.

So far, the Dies Committee has given no indications of any intention to inquire into Father Coughlin's possible connections with un-American activities.

West Coast Inquiry

When the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee began its investigations in 1936, most of its attention was centered on industrial violence in the eastern manufacturing cities. They quizzed both industrialists and labor leaders from a number of cities, where strikes

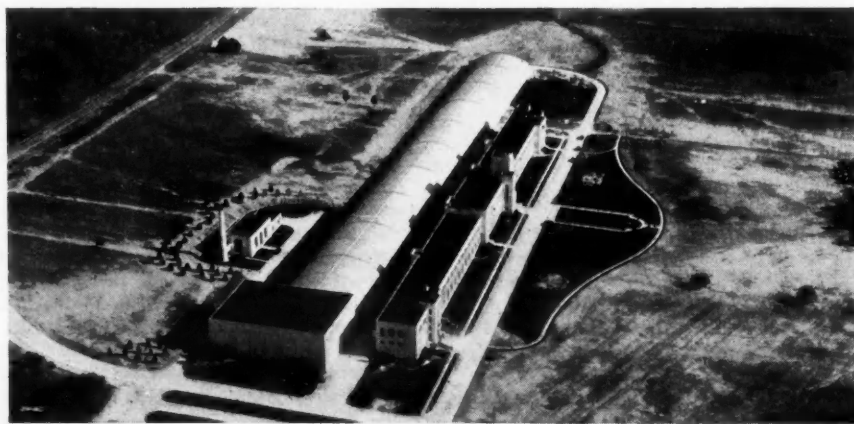
tied up business, and fights involving workers, police, and company detectives were common. Headed by Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, the committee attempted to show that workers were being denied their right to organize unions and that civil liberties were often denied.

When the Senate gave the committee another \$50,000 last year, the investigation shifted to the west coast. There they have been inquiring into the conditions among both agricultural and industrial workers.

BERRYMAN IN WASHINGTON STAR
A NEW MEMBER

Witnesses before the committee have testified that the group known as the Associated Farmers fixes wage scales for migratory farm labor, and discourages any attempts of the workers to organize. The testimony also charges that the Associated Farmers is financed by canneries, oil companies, railroads, and utility companies. Other witnesses asserted that the organization was necessary to protect perishable crops—fruits and vegetables which would spoil if prolonged labor disputes occurred during the picking and canning seasons.

With the remainder of its funds, the committee has also been looking into labor conditions in Los Angeles and San Francisco. When the hearings are completed, the com-



SHIP-MODEL TESTING BASINS

In these buildings, situated in Maryland not far from Washington, the United States navy has built several large basins and has filled them with water. They are used to test models of ships scheduled for construction. These models are employed in the carrying out of experiments in new designs and equipment. The longest basin is 1,200 feet in length.

The Week at Home

What the People of the World Are

mittee will report its findings to the Senate, and perhaps ask for more funds with which to continue its inquiry.

Town Meeting

Frank Kerr, who won the \$500 prize in the Town Hall youth essay contest on American democracy, is one of five young people who will appear on the Town Meeting broadcast Thursday evening, February 8, at 9:30, eastern standard time, on the National Broadcasting Company's Blue network. They will give their viewpoints about some of the conditions which youth face today—particularly the lack of jobs which may force them into idleness when they are graduated from school.

The topic—"Is Youth Doing Its Share?"—will give the speakers an opportunity to tell about youth's attitudes toward these problems. They will tell whether young people are trying to get jobs and taking advantage of every opportunity for work, or whether many of them are sitting back, waiting for attractive, well-paying positions to come their way. Another issue is what American youth are thinking today of their duties as democratic citizens.

Treasure Hunt

Geologists from the Bureau of Mines and the Geological Survey are conducting a treasure hunt in the United States. Although this country has extensive mineral resources, there are a number of vital products which we lack. These men are searching through mountains and valleys for deposits of minerals which have been overlooked until now. Taking samples of earth and rock, they are testing each bucketful carefully, hoping to find the minerals which we need.

When an airplane is manufactured, its parts contain tungsten and antimony from China, nickel from Canada, tin from British Malaya, chromium from Rhodesia, mercury from Spain and Italy, and manganese from Brazil or Russia. The quest for these minerals is going on in Arizona, Montana, Arkansas, and Georgia, where they hope to find manganese. They are looking for sources of tin in Alaska, South Carolina, Nevada, and South Dakota. The search for nickel is going on in Virginia, Colorado, Nevada, and Alaska. And in other states, wherever there is a possibility that supplies may exist, they are looking for chromium, antimony, and mercury.

Without Relief

A "lay-off" is the discharge of a group of workmen for impersonal reasons such as economy. Perhaps the biggest lay-off in American history took place last July and August when the 1939 relief act forced the WPA to discharge 775,000 workmen. Just how those men fared in the months that followed is told in a federal survey made public two weeks ago.

Conditions favored the absorption of the men in private industry, which was preparing

for a European war and a record-breaking Christmas at home. But as the new jobs opened up, they did not go to these men who had been for many months on relief, but to the men which the individual plants had previously laid off. Of the 775,000 ex-relievers, less than 13 per cent had found jobs by November. Some of these jobs were good, paying better than \$25 a week; others paid no more than 15 cents a day. The average was \$17.32 a week.

The other 87 per cent did not fare so



well. A quarter of them were able to obtain local relief, and another quarter, after waiting a month, were taken back on WPA. There were left some 258,000 men who had nothing except their scanty savings, the money they could borrow from friends or get by selling their furniture, the generosity of their relatives, and occasional gifts of apples, flour, onions, or other staple from the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation. Families were broken up, children turned over to "foster-parents." Small grocers and tradesmen were for the most part as indulgent as they could afford to be.

The report states that "although the workers interviewed had made persistent efforts to find jobs, in the vast majority of instances no work was found."

Housing and Crime

From the United States Housing Authority comes new support for the familiar charge that bad housing is one of the causes of crime. Slums in the nation's capital produce 72 per cent of the city's juvenile delinquents. Chicago has a congested area in which one out of every four boys between the ages of 10 and 17 passed through the juvenile court during a single year. In such cities as Birmingham, Denver, and Seattle, about one-tenth of the youths live in slum areas, but they cause 25 per cent of the crimes among young people.

On the other hand, Washington, D. C., has a modern housing project for 274 Negro families. During two years, it has had no juvenile delinquency, no police calls, no fires, and no traffic accidents among children. Minneapolis has a housing development for 464 families, whose 800 children have kept out of trouble. Detroit's Parkside, a low-rent housing project, reports a similar record for its 400 young people. Good surroundings, asserts the USHA, have contributed a great deal toward keeping children and young people in a frame of mind which discourages criminal activities.

CIO and Wheeler

When President Roosevelt was a candidate for re-election in 1936, the United Mine Workers of America poured nearly \$500,000 into his campaign chest. John L. Lewis, president of the UMWA, led the miners and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in vigorous support of the Democratic party. But he declared at the UMWA's recent convention that the Democratic party has not kept faith with labor. He said that the President will meet with "ignominious defeat" in the November election if the Democratic party is "coerced or dragooned into renominating him."

Home and Abroad

What's Doing, Saying, and Thinking

Political observers immediately began asking, "Who will get the CIO's political support?" Some declared that Lewis will be opposed by groups within the UMWA and the CIO. They pointed to the fact that the miners' convention had received resolutions from 47 local miners' unions in support of a third term for Roosevelt. They added that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the Textile Workers' Union of America—two of the largest CIO affiliates—have already taken a similar stand. And the

toward the British Empire, last week. In England opinion was divided as to whether large Japanese orders should be encouraged. To sell Japan large quantities of war materials would be to reduce the effect of the action of the United States. It might anger Americans and weaken Britain's diplomatic position. On the other hand, the British Ministry of Economic Warfare has held that Britain cannot afford to follow the lead of the United States.

But while the pros and cons of this argument were being aired, British-Japanese relations suddenly became agitated after the British navy had seized 21 German seamen returning home from the United States on a Japanese ship. The Japanese government has demanded that these seamen be returned to its protection, and in retaliation it has once again drawn a tight food blockade around the foreign area in Tientsin, North China.

(3) Japan and China

After nearly a year of delay, the Japanese government seems at last to have reached a final agreement with Wang Ching-wei, whom it intends to establish as the head of its puppet government in China. To gain this support, Wang has made far-reaching concessions to Japan in an extensive 12-point agreement even more severe in effect than the notorious Japanese "21 Demands" on China in 1915. Among other things, the Japanese retain the right to maintain troops in south and central China for two years or more; to supervise Chinese transportation systems; to supervise the Chinese customs (which are expected to furnish the new government with most of its revenues); to keep the large island of Hainan, near French-Indo China; to maintain permanent garrisons in north China (which is to become semi-autonomous), and to lead the fight against Chiang Kai-shek.

Acting with unusual caution, the Japanese have not officially recognized Wang. They have simply agreed to deal with him on the assumption that he has "succeeded" Chiang. Wang's new government will be established in Nanking, the former capital of the republic. It will fly Chiang's flag, and will be known as the Chinese Central Government.

Canadian Politics

Ever since Canada followed England into the war against Germany, the policies of its government have been subjected to sharp criticism at home. The first attack, which was launched against military conscription by the then premier of Quebec, ended in failure. It left Prime Minister MacKenzie King and the Liberal party, which supports him, in a strong position. But recent months have seen a rising tide of criticism from other quarters. It has been charged that the army is ill-equipped, poorly clothed, and badly housed. There have been complaints concerning heavy taxes, censorship, the suppression of civil rights, and laxness on the government's part in prosecuting the war. Prices have steadily risen, but the war "boom" eagerly sought for by farmers and businessmen has not materialized.

When the Dominion Parliament met on



MAIN STREET, WINNIPEG, CANADA

Sectional differences, long a source of discord in Canada, have cropped up again as an incident in wartime tension. The government of Prime Minister MacKenzie King has announced its intention of holding a national election next month to test the sentiment of the country.

January 25, the Conservative party hoped to profit on all these grievances. The opposition had gathered considerable political ammunition, and observers admitted that King was in for a difficult session. But that session proved to be the shortest in Canadian history. Within four hours, Prime Minister King had prevailed upon Lord Tweedsmuir, governor general of Canada, to dissolve Parliament, and to call for new general elections, set for March 28. The prime minister justified this act by asserting that political attacks on the government have made it necessary to go to the Canadian people and to establish a new government based on their verdict before

decree which gives the Rumanian government control over the ultimate distribution of the 7,000,000 tons of oil produced in the country each year. This act has alarmed and angered Britain and France, for it means that the Allies will have no further say as to where the oil will be sold, even though they hold a large financial interest in it, unless they can match Germany's pressure on Rumania with measures of their own. Most observers feel that Carol was forced to take this step by the threat of a joint German-Russian invasion, and that the pressure of this threat will force him to turn over more and more oil to the Reich.

In the meantime, reports from Galicia, a section of southeastern Poland now held by Russia, indicate that German troops have been stationed along the important railroad which runs through Galicia on its way from Germany to Rumania. Only the River Danube (which is now frozen over) serves as a more important route for German imports of Rumanian oil. If it is true that German troops are guarding this railroad on Russian soil, it implies a further secret agreement between Russia and Germany. Why does Russia permit German troops in Russian Poland? Has Stalin ceded this section of Galicia (which also contains oil wells) to Germany? If so, in return for what? In the absence of specific information, the question as to how closely Russia and Germany are working together remains the great mystery of the week throughout Europe.



GERMAN GAIN

Germany has obtained control of the railroad leading across Poland into Rumania.

the European war starts in earnest, in the spring. The Conservatives claim, however, that King engineered the dissolution of Parliament in order to avoid debates on his policies, and to move the election date so close that the opposition will have no time to prepare its case.

Rumanian Oil

In the Allied-German contest for control of the rich oil fields of south-central Rumania, Germany seems to have gained the upper hand. On January 17, King Carol issued a

Gold Coast

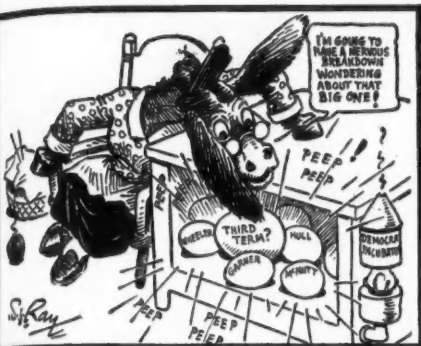
Along the equatorial coast of West Africa lies a hot little British colony hardly larger than Maryland, which is known as the Gold Coast. Although its romantic name originally came from the quantities of yellow metal found there, the colony is better known today as the world's largest producer of a reddish-brown substance called cacao, from which cocoa and chocolate are processed for commercial use. The cacao is stripped in pods from trees in the dense tropical forests stretching northward from the Gulf of Guinea. When times are good, and cacao prices high, the quarter of a million Negroes who raise and sell it enjoy a relative degree of prosperity, earning as much as \$1.50 a week. When times are bad, the whole colony and all its 2,890,000 natives suffer. Since the United States is the world's largest consumer of cacao, using nearly half of the world's supply, this country has always depended to a large extent on the Gold Coast market.

Recently the British government took steps which may force the United States to look elsewhere for its cacao. By buying up the entire 1939-40 cacao crop of the Gold Coast, the British government has placed itself in a position to raise the cacao price in world markets, and to provide itself with foreign exchange by selling that cacao at a good profit. American buyers, however, are turning to Brazil and Ecuador, two tropical countries excellently suited to the cultivation of cacao, and the British measure may therefore merely result in the rapid expansion of cacao plantations in Latin America, at the expense of Gold Coast.



A FRENCH TOWN

The front is largely inactive, but French soldiers continue to drill in preparation for the expected intensification of warfare in the spring. The above photograph shows a detachment of troops parading in an unidentified French town.



RAY IN KANSAS CITY STAR

CIO councils of New York, New Jersey, and California are in the third-term camp.

It is claimed, however, that Lewis exerts an overwhelming influence in CIO political affairs, and will prevail against these groups. So far as can be learned, Senator Burton Wheeler of Montana is Lewis's favorite to receive the Democratic nomination. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has spoken favorably of Senator Wheeler, who also has some support among the railway brotherhoods. However, the AFL executive council asserts that it is taking a "strictly independent" attitude toward the coming race, and will give no candidate a "blank check" of endorsement in advance. As enigmatic as the third-term question itself, labor's future course has come to the forefront in the active political speculation.

FOREIGN

Week in East Asia

(1) Japan and U. S. A.

At 12:01 in the early morning of Saturday, January 27, the treaty which had governed commercial relations between Japan and the United States since 1911, was allowed to expire. Denounced by the United States government last July because of continued Japanese discrimination against American rights in China, the treaty enabled Japanese in America and Americans in Japan to trade and own property on a basis of equality. Its most important clause provided that neither country could grant concessions to a third country which it would not automatically grant to the other.

Now that this agreement has expired, the trade between Japan and the United States continues, but on a temporary day-to-day basis. Since this state of affairs can be terminated abruptly by either power, American firms are reluctant to accept large orders, while banks and insurance companies are inclined to take no part in financing them, fearing possible losses which might follow a sudden embargo. Informed only that the treaty had expired and that the United States had refused to meet Japan halfway in negotiating a new one, the people of Japan bitterly resent the United States' denunciation of the treaty.

(2) Japan and England

Forced by the expiration of the American-Japanese trade treaty to look elsewhere for their needed scrap iron, tin, and other raw materials, the Japanese seemed to be turning



COTTON PILED ON THE WHARVES AT NEW ORLEANS BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

Trends of U. S. Foreign Trade

IT is doubtful whether any issue has plagued American politics more persistently than that raised by our tariff policy. Few administrations have been spared bitter controversies over the raising and lowering of tariff rates. Few public problems have been more vehemently debated in the press and by economists. From the days of Alexander Hamilton to those of Cordell Hull, the tariff issue has been with us. It has again sprung into the headlines as Congress is now considering the Hull reciprocal trade agreements; an issue which is discussed elsewhere in this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

It was largely through the efforts of Alexander Hamilton that the policy of a protective tariff was adopted by the federal government. Hamilton envisaged the United States as a great industrial nation and realized that to make it such, new industries would have to be protected, by the tariff, against the goods of the European nations, which were already highly developed industrially. The tariff has been raised and lowered throughout the history of the United States as the political exigencies of the moment have dictated.

Great Changes

From the days of Hamilton to the present, the character of American foreign trade has undergone great changes. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the overwhelming majority of American exports consisted of agricultural products. At the same time, the bulk of American imports were manufactured or semimanufactured products. During the first half of the century, well over half of our imports fell into such categories as cotton textiles, woolens, silk, and linens, iron and steel products, china, earthenware, and similar articles.

In return for these manufactured and semimanufactured goods, the United States sent raw materials in abundance from its mines and farms. With its vast natural resources, this country was in a position to lead the world. Products of the sea, products of the forest, and products of agriculture headed the list for nearly a century. Only a few manufactured goods entered into the channels of American export trade. In the 1850's raw materials and agricultural products made up 80 per cent of the total exports, and the percentage did not decline markedly during the remainder of the century.

It was during the eighties that the ratio between agricultural and industrial exports began to decline. By the close of the World War, agricultural products, which

had formerly constituted four-fifths of our total exports, fell to less than half of the total. In the decade following 1850, semimanufactured and finished manufactured goods constituted but 16 per cent of the total exports; by 1925, these same categories had tripled, and immediately before the collapse of 1929, they made up more than half of all American exports. Automobiles pushed out raw cotton as the leading American export. Iron and steel products, machinery of all kinds, locomotives, typewriters, cash registers, refined oil, electrical appliances of all kinds—all products of the industrial age—led the list of American exports which found their way to the four corners of the globe.

At the same time, the character of American imports was altered. Whereas during the agricultural era of American history, manufactured goods had constituted the bulk of our imports, other items now jumped into the lead. About 1860, for example, less than 10 per cent of all American imports were made up of crude materials; by the twenties of the present century, these imports jumped to two-fifths of the total. The chief items of import were silk, sugar, coffee, and rubber, with many other agricultural products and basic raw materials falling closely in line with those named.

Dependence upon Foreign Trade

Despite the fact that the United States was as self-sufficient in raw materials as any nation on earth, its economic well-being was still dependent upon foreign trade. The United States Steel Corporation, for instance, in 1924 imported 40 different commodities from 54 foreign countries. A large number of our industries would be forced to close down without imported goods.

Although in normal times only about 10 per cent of our total production is sold abroad, the percentage for individual products is far greater. While certain industries export none or practically none of their products, others depend mightily upon overseas trade—some of them for as much as half of their production. Many of the dislocations of American agriculture during the last two decades are directly traceable to the loss of foreign markets after the World War. And a solution to the agricultural problem has not yet been found; nor is one in sight after nearly two decades of depression.

At the peak of prosperity, in 1929, foreign trade was vital to a large number of American industries. That year foreign sales accounted for 36 per cent of our copper production, 34.7 per cent of our kerosene production, 31 per cent of our lubricating oil, 40 per cent of our typewriters, 28 per cent of our sewing machines, to cite but a few examples. To those industries whose products are disposed of in large quantities abroad, foreign trade is vital.

Personalities in the News

PERHAPS one of the chief reasons for Cordell Hull's success as secretary of state is his thorough knowledge of politics, for in a nation of social strife and selfish sectional interests, it takes more than good intentions to execute a constructive policy. Hull was born 68 years ago in a well-to-do Tennessee farming family, and when he was a lad of 17, he was escorting political candidates on campaign tours of his home county. Two years later, a law student in Cumberland University, he was a delegate to the state Democratic convention. At 22 he entered the state legislature, and since then he has been out of politics only 10 years, that was the decade of 1897 to 1907, when he served in the Spanish-American War and later as a judge in Tennessee.

Hull was then sent to Congress 12 times, losing only one election, the Harding landslide in 1920. Those two years of leisure he spent as chairman of the Democratic National Committee. He had served two years of his first term in the Senate when he was appointed to Mr. Roosevelt's cabinet in 1933.

No one questioned that he would adopt sound policies as secretary of state, for he was well known as an economist and had drafted the federal income tax system in 1913 and the inheritance tax act of 1916, but his efficiency as an administrator came as a surprise. He reorganized the department. He weeded out inefficient men and took personal control of coordinating the foreign service with the permanent home staff of legal and economic experts. He abolished "Diplomatic Thursday" and will confer with any diplomat in Washington any day of the week. He made his weekly press conference an important instrument in clarifying American policy for the public here and for governments abroad.

The secretary believes that nations will trade, or they will fight. The reciprocal trade agreements are therefore the spearhead of his policy of world peace. Congressional permission to negotiate them (and to reduce tariffs, previously fixed by Congress, by as much as 50 per cent) must be secured every three years. Senators are more critical than representatives, who vote along party lines, and the Senate's past approval is proof that Hull is an adept politician. This year, however, he must again secure renewal of the reciprocal trade act.

Mr. Hull seldom comments on domestic affairs, and so has made few enemies. His few speeches are carefully written and most effective on the printed page. He speaks quietly and slowly, and is so afraid of inaccurate expression that the foreign service is seldom given orders by telephone. Hull is tall and slender, weighing only 165 pounds, and his erect bearing and white hair make him a distinguished figure. Croquet is his only form of exercise, and he does not drink, although he is frequently seen smoking a big, black cigar. Because neither of them enjoys the formality of diplomatic and official society, Mrs. Hull does little entertaining and the secretary dresses informally, staunchly refusing to wear spats.



CORDELL HULL

WATCHING the world emerge from war, struggle a few years for peace, and sink again into war is a sad experience, but it gave Clarence K. Streit the inspiration for one of last year's most important books. For more than 15 years his position as a foreign correspondent gave Streit a ringside seat on the European scene and, with the other experiences of his life, made him well qualified to write a solution for world unrest.

In "Union Now" (New York: Harpers, \$3), he points to the failure of the League of Nations, with its membership of governments which have little in common to bind them together. He proposes to replace this league with a federation of democratic peoples, who would have one currency, one government, one army, and one frontier. The 15 peoples he proposes as "charter members" are, for the most part, those who have shores on the North Atlantic, although other nations could be admitted, if they accepted the bill of rights.

Streit was born in Missouri. He was 21 years old and a student in Montana State University when the United States entered the war, and he joined the army as a private in the engineers. A few months later he was transferred to the intelligence service and given the rank of sergeant. He again won the notice of his superiors, and at the close of hostilities he was attached to the peace delegation in Paris.

The lanky Missourian was as quick in academic work as he was in army life, and in 1919 he began postgraduate work in the University of Paris. He gained an excellent mastery of history and has since contributed to many learned publications. The next year he was in Oxford as a Rhodes

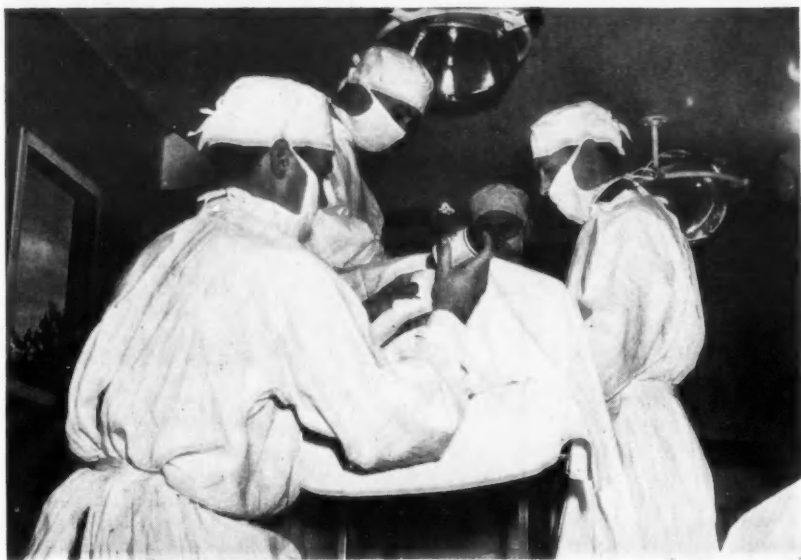


CLARENCE K. STREIT

scholar. He had come by that time to be a correspondent for the old Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, and took time off from his studies to cover the bloody Turko-Greek war in 1921. For some years he represented the *Ledger* in Istanbul, leaving there in 1925 to cover the Riff war for the *New York Times*.

Reporting for a big newspaper furnishes valuable discipline, since it demands thorough, penetrating analysis and absolute impartiality. In 1928 Streit began a 10-year stretch as Geneva correspondent for the *Times*. Day after day, in its old "palace" on the Quai Woodrow Wilson, he watched the League in action. He saw it fail, in China, in Ethiopia, in more and more instances of unchecked aggression. He saw big nations refuse to help the small, and as an American, he tried to conceive of New Yorkers refusing to aid Rhode Island in a time of need. And gradually the idea came to him for his book.

"Mr. Streit is a dreamer and his book is perhaps a dream," one reviewer remarked, but "Union Now" has come to be more than a book; it is almost a movement. Streit has resigned from the *Times* to give his whole time to the cause. A tall, lithe figure, with piercing blue eyes, he is lecturing throughout the country, and in many cities "Union Now" clubs have been formed, and the idea is also taking hold abroad.



MEN IN WHITE—THE DOCTORS

ACME

• Vocational Outlook •

Medicine

It cannot honestly be said that the field of medicine is crowded, nor can it ever be said so long as such vast numbers of people in this country remain without medical care. While it is true that there is one physician for every 815 people in the country, this is not the way they are actually distributed. Doctors tend to stay in the cities, for they can make a better living there, and in rural areas and small towns one doctor is commonly shared by as many as 1,600 people, and many of these have not the ability to reach him or buy his services. Even in cities there is room for expansion, since a recent survey of 84 cities shows that 28 per cent of the children in these cities who had been confined to bed for seven days or more had not had medical attention.

Yet it must also be said that under present conditions the nation cannot provide a living for the number of doctors actually needed, nor indeed for very many more than are now practicing. This economic problem has been the subject of much discussion lately, and it may be that some solution will soon be found, either in the form of compulsory health insurance, cooperative clinics, or some other device for lowering the cost of medical care. In the meantime, young men should bear in mind that the profession cannot support an immediate "invasion."

As a matter of fact, any such "invasion" would probably be thwarted at the gates of the 80-odd recognized colleges, which annually reject half of those who apply for admission. An excellent scholastic record, including a college education with at least two years of "pre-med" work, is the first requirement of a prospective medical student, and the competition is so keen that a boy owes it to himself to make sure in advance that he can stand the pace. A high school student contemplating such a career will do well to study English, Latin, botany, zoology, physics, chemistry, mathematics, and psychology, and other related subjects.

The cost of tuition in medical school varies, ranging from \$300 to \$600 a year in private colleges, and less in state universities. The student should plan on spending at least \$1,000 for each of his four years in medical school. It is not advisable for him to "work his way through," because his studies will monopolize most of his time, and the strain of the work will impair his health if he is not careful. Even after a student receives the coveted "M.D." he cannot practice until he has spent a fifth year serving in a hospital as intern, but this involves no expense, since he is given his living during this period.

Not all the nation's 165,000 doctors have their own offices, nor do all of them even have a practice. More than a quarter of them are employed in clinics, hospitals, laboratories, and many of these confine themselves exclusively to research. Doc-

tors who practice are known either as specialists or as general practitioners, but it is difficult to draw a line between these two categories, since most enterprising practitioners have a particular interest which they are studying, and in which they become specialists.

Local conditions and other factors will govern a young doctor's professional debut. They may favor his setting up an office of his own and, according to the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care, this will cost from \$1,860 to \$3,310, depending on its location and the amount of equipment. Young doctors also join clinics or become attached to hospital staffs, and there are an increasing number of industrial jobs opening up. Many department stores, factories, and other enterprises retain a full-time physician on the premises, or maintain a complete medical staff.

Considerable extra study and training is needed to become a specialist, and this also involves original research, in many cases, in addition to a mastery of the known facts. Obstetrics and pediatrics (child-birth and children's diseases) are important special fields, and these are especially good for women doctors, who may find themselves at a disadvantage in other fields. There are 7,000 women doctors practicing today, but they have had to overcome serious handicaps. Medical schools discriminate against them, some flatly refusing them admittance, and very few of the nation's hospitals will accept them as interns.

If a doctor covers expenses the first year he is in business, he will be doing well. Fortunately, his earnings increase rather rapidly. The American Medical Association estimates that in his first five years a doctor averages \$3,108 a year, and almost \$5,000 a year in his next five. But this is a dangerous generalization, for in times of depression doctors' earnings sink disproportionately for the simple reason that doctors are not paid. One survey reports that 40 per cent of all doctors' bills sent out are unpaid after six months and many are never paid. And doctors do much work for which they ask no payment, and they must answer a summons at any hour of the day or night, another serious disadvantage. Compensation for this is the feeling of service which a doctor derives from his work and the esteem with which he is always regarded in his community.

Present medical trends are creating a number of jobs as "by-products" of the profession. There is a demand for specially trained medical librarians and stenographers, and for a smaller number of medical photographers and artists. The first two fields are well paid and important, and yet they have by no means been fully explored by vocational experts, although state medical associations are acquainted with local demands and the necessary prerequisites.

New Jersey Students Deal With Local Problems in Practical Way

EVERYONE agrees that citizens should not only think about public problems, but should actually do something about them. It is agreed in every quarter that it would be a good thing for students in the schools to become actively concerned about the problems of their communities. But how to develop such an interest is a difficult problem. The students of the Hillside High School, Hillside, New Jersey, under the leadership of their instructor, Weyman O. Steengrafe, have set themselves to answer that question.

These students are avoiding a mistake which many make. Not only do they study public problems in their books and magazines, but they actively study the situation which exists in their own community. They study the problems of the community and then take up the question of what is really being done. They use their community as a laboratory to assist them in making use of their ideas.

They are finding out what opinion in Hillside is about a number of important questions. Some time ago the people of New Jersey were to vote on whether they would legalize betting at race tracks. The class took up the question and discussed it, as other people were doing. Then they set out to find what the public in Hillside really thought of it. They questioned 300 of their townspeople, using the same methods that the American Institute of Public Opinion does. They discovered what the people were thinking, and made a report of their findings. This report was used not only in the school, but was published in the local paper.

But they did not stop at this. They then set out to find what the people of Hillside thought about problems of war and peace. Were they more peace-minded than in 1917? Did they think the United States should enter the war under any circumstances? And so on.

These students did another very useful thing. They interviewed candidates for the Board of Education, asked each one what he considered the most important problems facing the schools and what he proposed to do about them. A committee of four students obtained this information through interviews, preparing a report which was used in the school and which was published in the local newspaper. Not

only the students but the voters of the community were in a better position to judge the qualifications of the candidates than if the students had not acted. This experiment was followed later with candidates for other offices. The students here are taking the lead and are showing the people of the town how to go about it to get useful information about candidates.

Mr. Steengrafe makes the following comment on the work which the students are doing:

"We are slowly beginning to realize that it is just as essential for the social studies to use the community as a laboratory, as the science courses use a laboratory to experiment with various chemicals. Too often we stress our study of the federal government and do not place the proper emphasis on local government. How can our courses be 'humanized' if we fail to overlook the many possibilities for social experimentation which every town possesses? I feel that in the future every Problems of Democracy course will demand a definite number of hours per week



—AND THERE ARE MORE LIKE HIM
MESSNER IN HARTFORD (CONN.) TIMES

for after-school investigation and independent research upon local problems by both individual students and committees, if we are to train for alert citizenship.

"In any study of democracy the importance of public opinion should be stressed. Students should understand that informed public opinion is a guiding force which legislators must take heed of."

Do You Keep Up With the News?

(For answers to the following questions, turn to page 8, column 4)

- Will an American lose his citizenship if he fights for Germany or for the Allies or for any other belligerent power?
- The marriage of _____, England's number one woman tennis player, was recently announced.
- Unlike England, France has been respecting our "safety belt." True or false?
- An important leader of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Joseph P. Ryan, was recently indicted for "restraint of trade." Mr. Ryan is president of the (a) United Mine Workers, (b) International Longshoremen's Association, (c) National Maritime Union, (d) International Ladies' Garment Workers.
- Earl Browder, leader of the Communist party in this country, has been sentenced to (a) six months, (b) two years, (c) four years, (d) 10 years in jail, and fined \$2,000, for making false statements when applying for a passport.
- The 15-year-old son and namesake of Sir Edmund Ironside, chief of the British Imperial Staff, was recently mentioned in Commons because he had (a) refused to join the army, (b) begun to take flying lessons, (c) visited the western front, (d) received a low mark in algebra.
- John L. Lewis, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, is backing whom for the presidency?
- Is the work of the Dies Committee at an end, or has Congress authorized the committee to continue investigating un-American activities?
- President Roosevelt vigorously vetoed the so-called "Ohio relief bill," which would have reimbursed that state for funds withheld by the Social Security Board in October 1938. Why?
- According to income tax reports, the highest-paid motion picture actress in 1938 was (a) Claudette Colbert, (b) Shirley Temple, (c) Carole Lombard, (d) Greta Garbo.
- The Soviet government newspapers recently attacked Mr. Roosevelt for his peace efforts. True or false?
- The Germans in this country who are working to help Germany by organizing sympathizers and mailing supplies to Germany, as charged in a recent British note, are not trying to conceal their activities. They are (a) members of the German embassy staff, (b) German steamship line officials, (c) members of the German-American Bund, (d) mostly college students.
- A "six-week" voyage that took 116 days to complete, ended recently when the S.S. _____ steamed up the Chesapeake Bay, no longer the center of an international incident.
- In the opinion of the Pope, have the Germans or the Russians been the more cruel to the Poles?
- Who is the author of the best-seller, "Union Now"?



The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Raise Controversy in Our Congress and Nation

(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

on in Congress and should be effective only if approved by the legislative branch of the government?

We shall turn now to the first of these questions. Have the trade agreements, on the whole, been beneficial? Before undertaking to answer that question, we should understand the general purpose behind the trade agreements. To a large extent, they represent the ideas and policies of Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

Hull's Position

Briefly stated, the secretary thinks that the people of the United States will be prosperous only if we are able to sell a larger quantity of goods abroad than we are now selling. We can increase our sales abroad, however, only if we buy larger quantities of goods produced by foreigners. It will be a good thing for us to buy goods in which foreigners specialize and which they make cheaply or particularly well, and for us to sell goods which we produce particularly well and of which we have a surplus. Foreign trade, Secretary Hull says, will make us prosperous. But, he contends, it is being hindered by high tariff walls—walls around the United States which prevent foreigners from selling goods here and walls around the foreign countries which prevent us from selling our goods to the foreigners. We can stimulate trade by making deals with the foreign governments, reducing our import tax on goods which they most need to sell and which, if brought to this country, will compete least with our producers. In return, we get privileges which will enable us to sell in foreign nations the goods which we most need to sell.

Secretary of State Hull thinks that barriers to trade interfere seriously with commerce all over the world and keep people everywhere from being prosperous. This, he believes, is one of the causes of war. His argument is that if we make these trade agreements with many nations, we shall be doing our part to break down the barriers, and to pave the way for peace.

Opponents of Secretary Hull's policy admit that his intentions are good, but they say that in his eagerness to restore foreign trade, he has gone too far in reducing the import taxes on goods coming into the United States, and, in many cases, foreign products have been shipped into this country and have competed seriously with American goods.

Page after page of facts are submitted by each side in this controversy. But it is very hard for the impartial observer to decide exactly what the facts prove. For

example, the friends of the Hull trade agreements are able to show that Americans are selling far more to foreigners than they sold before the trade pacts went into effect. They can cite figures showing that in 1933, the year before the law giving the President power to make the trade agreements was passed, Americans sold goods to foreigners amounting to \$1,674,000,000. By 1935, the year after the making of the agreements began, our foreign sales were \$2,282,000,000; and in 1937, they were \$3,349,000,000; in 1938, they were \$3,094,000,000.

But how much of this increase of foreign sales was due to the trade pacts? That we do not know. In part, the increase was due to the fact that there was rapid business recovery in most parts of the world after 1933.

The trade increase may have been hastened by the trade agreements. This possibility is indicated by the fact that the increase of our foreign sales to the countries with which the trade agreements had been made was greater than the increase of our sales to other countries. During the period 1934-1935 to 1937-1938, our sales to all countries increased 46 per cent. But during this three-year period, our sales to the countries with which trade agreements had been signed increased 61 per cent. In 1939, our sales to trade-agreement countries increased five per cent over 1938, while our sales to nonagreement countries declined seven per cent.

Other Factors

These facts indicate that the trade agreements opened foreign markets for American goods to a certain extent. But here again, we must be careful about jumping to conclusions. It must be remembered that our trade agreements were with the countries, such as England and Canada, which are normally our best customers. It is possible that our trade with these countries would have grown faster during the recovery years than our trade with other countries, even if there had been no trade agreements.

Not only have we sold more goods abroad since the trade agreement policy went into effect, but we have bought more goods from foreigners. Imports into the United States of industrial and farm products combined grew from \$1,449,000,000 in 1933 to \$2,047,000,000 in 1935; \$3,083,000,000 in 1937; and \$1,960,000,000 in 1938. We cannot be sure, however, to what extent this increase has been due to the trade agreements. And in no year have we bought as much from foreigners as we have sold to them.

The opponents of Secretary Hull's trade agreements contend that we cannot tell whether the treaties are a good thing or not merely by finding out how much our total trade has increased. They say it is true that the Hull agreements have secured favors from foreign countries so as to allow American manufacturers to sell some of their products abroad more easily. They contend, however, that the Hull pacts have not opened up new markets for American farmers. They point to the fact that, while the total sales of American goods to foreigners increased greatly from 1934 to 1938, the sale of farm products to foreigners increased practically not at all. The farmers sold goods to the amount of \$733,000,000 in 1934, \$797,000,000 in 1937, and \$828,000,000 in 1938—not much of an increase.

But, say the friends of the Hull trade pacts, the situation would have been still worse if it had not been for the trade agreements. Many European countries have been preparing for war during the last few years, and they have cut down their purchase of farm products in order to buy more war materials. Furthermore, they have stimulated their own output of farm products so as to be independent of other countries in time of war. This has made it far harder for the American farmers to sell goods abroad. But they would have sold even fewer goods, Hull's supporters claim, had not the trade pacts opened markets to a certain extent.

Not only have the agreements failed to open new markets for the farmers, opponents say, but they have broken down our tariff walls so that foreigners sell an increased quantity of farm products in this country in competition with American farmers. Foreign sales of farm products in this country increased from \$833,000,000 in 1934 to \$1,579,000,000 in 1937. Does this not mean that the trade agreements opened the gates and permitted foreigners to flood our market?

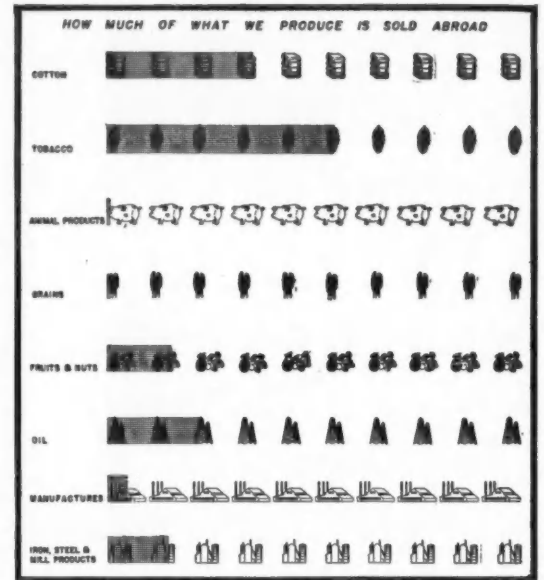
Friends of the Hull agreements say that this is a hasty and unjustified conclusion. They say that our increased purchases of foreign farm products in 1937 were due, not to the trade treaties, but rather to the fact that there was disastrous drought in the United States. They point to the fact that by 1938, when the drought was over, our foreign purchases of farm products fell back to the normal amount.

Other Arguments

Many other arguments are advanced. But it is hard to draw definite conclusions from them. It can be shown, for example, that farm income rose about 60 per cent from 1933 to 1938. But how much, if any, did the trade agreements contribute to this increase? Farmers, it is pointed out, would have naturally benefited by the pickup in business. Moreover, farmers have been given special financial assistance.

It is a fact, of course, that the farmers might profit from the agreements, even though the agreements do not open new markets to them abroad. If new markets are found through the agreements for American manufactured goods, this would help to bring prosperity to the manufacturing industries. The millions of people employed in the manufacturing industries would then have more money and could buy more farm products; which would help the farmers as much as if they were selling larger quantities of their goods to foreigners. How much or how little the farmers have been helped by the agreements in this way, it is difficult to say.

There is little doubt that certain individuals and certain industries are hurt by the Hull agreements because certain classes of foreign goods are permitted to



FOR EXPORT
Based on figures for 1936, this chart shows some of the United States products which figure heavily in export trade.

enter this country and compete with these individuals and industries. It is equally true that certain industries in this country are helped by the agreements because their products find increased sale abroad. No tariff law has ever been passed which did not hurt some people and help others. We call it a good law if it helps more people than it hurts—that is, if it contributes to the general national prosperity.

Second Question

Now we come to the second of the big issues before Congress. Should the President have the authority to make these treaties without submitting them to Congress for approval? Here are some of the arguments in favor of his being given this power:

The trade agreements negotiated by the State Department (acting under the President's authority) are conducted fairly and scientifically. The work is done by a large number of experts. Open hearings are conducted. Anyone interested is permitted to speak. American envoys abroad are consulted. So are the experts of our Commerce Department and other agencies.

If a treaty had to be submitted to Congress before it became effective, problems involved would not be given scientific attention. Lobbyists for each industry would work upon members of Congress. There would be logrolling; that is, the representatives of one industry or one section of the country would trade their influence with representatives of another.

Here are some of the arguments against giving the President this power: Each trade agreement deeply affects many of the American people. It is right that these tariff arrangements, like any other laws, should be approved by the elected representatives of the people. There is no more reason to turn over to the President the power to make these tariff arrangements than there is to turn over to him the power to enact any other kind of law. The law-making power should be retained by Congress.

REFERENCES: (a) Foreign Trade Begins at Home, by J. Chamberlain. *Harpers*, September 1939, pp. 352-359. (b) Isolation: The Dodo, by D. L. Cohn. *The Atlantic*, August 1939, pp. 155-162. (c) A pro and con discussion of "Congress and the Reciprocal Trade Treaties" appears in *Congressional Digest*, December 1939, pp. 291-320. (d) Foreign Trade's Unknown Quantity, by E. L. Bacher. *Nation's Business*, April 1939, pp. 17-19. (e) Trade by Treaties, by F. B. Sayre. *Current History*, January 1939, pp. 14-16.

Answer Keys

Do You Keep Up with the News?

1. No, provided he takes no oath of allegiance; 2. Kay Stammers; 3. false; 4. (b); 5. (c); 6. false; 7. Walther von Brauchitsch; 8. false; 9. (c); 10. Senator Wheeler of Montana; 11. \$75,000 was appropriated to continue its activities another year; 12. the funds had been justly withheld because the state had violated the Social Security Act; 13. (a); 14. true; 15. (b); 16. *City of Flint*; 17. the Germans; 18. Clarence K. Streit.

Smiles

"Since you have broken your engagement to Tom because your feelings toward him aren't the same, are you going to return his ring?"
"No; my feelings toward the ring are still the same as ever!"
—SELECTED



"CALLING ALL CARS! READ MORNING PAPERS AND INVESTIGATE"
KELLER IN COLLIER'S

"Did I tell you," said the woman driver, "that someone wants to sue me for breach of promise?"
"No. Why?"
"I signaled I was going to turn a corner—and then didn't!"
—LARIAT

"So your son had to leave college on account of poor eyesight?"
"Yes, he mistook the dean of women for a coed."
—LABOR

Judge: "It is highly important that we get all these facts straight. Did the defendant say in your presence 'he took the pig' or 'I took the pig'?"
Witness: "He said he took it; your name wasn't even mentioned."
—CAPPER'S WEEKLY

"Dad, we learned at school today that the animals have a new fur every winter."
"Be quiet! Your mother is in the next room."
—NEWS AND VIEWS

A local insurance agency is handing out red pencils with its 1940 calendars. On the pencil is printed: "Mark your own holidays. We aren't sticking our neck out."
—CHICAGO TRIBUNE

At an examination, the teacher asked, "Does the question embarrass you?"
"Not at all, sir," replied the student, "not at all. It is quite clear. It is the answer that bothers me."
—NEW FREEMAN